787 approached and left. I saw Thunder. It was small and came in
776 a small canoe. It was Thunder's child (a topī). It wore a small headdress of red parrot feathers. It had a small lip plug. I reached to pull out the lip plug (thus Panterí vanquished the topī), but it left the house. Then all was dark. (Panterí had not defeated the topī, and it had consequently shot him with his arrow). I saw many suns. I traveled, singing as I walked. I walked three days, and I climbed a large mountain on the other side of the
[821] Araguaia. That is where the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big, and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many topī and many souls of shamans near
[775] [756] him. I did not talk but returned fast.' He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other world; he would have died. A few novices, and now and
292 again a rare layman, wore the ankungitána, and people marveled
781 at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it. The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panterí grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a panché-iũnwera. Urukumĩ picked up the ankungitána. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him."

825 I have already mentioned that red macaw feathers are prized
[292] most highly by the Tapirapé. They make up the essential part of
[238] the circular occipital headdress. Wagley (ibid., Note 30) says in this connection: "Red parrot feathers are 'hot like fire,' say the
[821] Tapirapé; the sun is hot because he wears a large headdress of red feathers. This heat always attracts the supernatural. Tapirapé told
[753] me that an attack of malaria I had was caused by my having left a headdress of red parrot feathers hanging openly in my house."

292 The feather ornament used in the Thunder ceremony does not
285 touch the head directly when attached to it, but remains separated by means of a very peculiar wooden edifice (cf. ibid., Fig. 1).
114 The figures in Wagley's work (ibid., Figs. 1-9) do not provide any details about the construction of the headdress or the fastening of the feathers. The frame (Photo. 15) that I acquired in Tampiitãua

285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanohó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping. At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

292 pairs are joined into a knot after having been twined once around
285 every strip. Their starting point at the other end of the band was also a knot, so that the band displays 28 knots at each end. The strings are cut three or four centimeters beyond the knot, except for the strings involved in the four outermost knots on each side. These strings extend about 30 [108:135] centimeters beyond the knots on one side, and slightly over 11 centimeters on the other side. These strings are twisted into a cord in groups of four, while the other strings are not joined in any way along the three or four centimeters that extend beyond the knots. The strips, when they retain their natural curvature, leave an empty space within their folded ends. The large tail feathers of the red macaw are inserted in this opening to complete the impressive ornament. They are kept in an internode of thick cane when not in use.

292 The frame specimen described and reproduced above was the only one I found in Tampiitáua. It was in Maninohó's possession. I
[114] have not found any reference in the literature to such objects among
[171] the Karajá, the Kayapó, or any other Indians. Nor do I know whether anything like the Tapirapé head "edifice" reproduced by Wagley is to be found in any other tribe.

292 Reverend Kegel described to me the circular occipital head-
881 dress he saw at the initiation ceremony as a wooden disk about 15
237 centimeters in diameter and two centimeters thick, blackened with genipap, and bearing three concentric circles of feathers laid out in a radiating pattern. The inner circle consisted of scalloped, dark-green duck feathers, the middle one of white jabiru feathers, and the outer one of red macaw tail feathers. The hair of the boy who was being initiated was gathered into a pigtail and drawn through a hole in the center of the disk. [Ed., the last two paragraphs of p. 135 and the first paragraph of p. 136 are omitted.]

[108:136] I saw a large semicircular wooden disk with small
532 holes in the center hanging from the wall of the men's house in Tampiitáua. The Tapirapé showed me that those holes were meant for the eyes and that the disk, when covered with a mosaic of feathers and a crown of macaw feathers, was used as a dance mask (Photo. 70). Unfortunately, however, I did not have an opportunity
171 to find out the specific function of this mask, which is as distinct
532 from other Tapirapé masks as it is from those of the Karajá (cf. Krause 2, Plate 20) and which bears no resemblance to the masks

Photo. 15

Framework of headdress without the feathers.

Photo. 16

Crown of jaguar te[illegible].

237
292

1:Baldus--176 E-5 (1935, 1947)1944-1949 SP22 Taplapé SP22

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
SP22 Tapirapé SP22

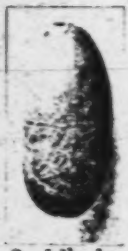
with so few people holding the status positions of aboriginal Tapirapé society much specialized knowledge will be lost. This is true of shamanism, as explained above, and it is true of the weaving of baskets for which Tapirapé men were justly famous before 1940. In 1953, only two men of the tribe knew the art of basket making. In aboriginal times, it was a technique which men learned after adolescence (Tapirapé boys were not expected to learn the manly arts), and with the death of so many older men and the disintegration of Tapirapé society, few young men were able to study. Both of the young men who did learn produced baskets which in 1940 would have been considered distinctly inferior and few of the young men in 1953 showed an inclination to learn the art. Like many other aspects of the culture, Tapirapé basketry will probably be a "lost art" within a generation.

Before 1940, one of the striking aspects of Tapirapé culture recorded by both Baldus and myself was the complex set of rules governing food taboos. According to aboriginal Tapirapé culture, women and children are forbidden to eat venison as well as many other specific meats. Nowadays the Tapirapé frequently have beef, which they receive by trade from the Brazilian around the Indian post. As might be suspected, beef is equated with venison and it is taboo to Tapirapé women. Likewise, Tapirapé men who are the fathers of small children may eat neither venison nor beef. One Tapirapé male explained that "Even when we were hungry our women would not eat beef." But in view of their experience with other cultures (i. e., Carajá and Brazilian), such taboos are growing weaker. Hidden from their husbands, several Tapirapé women tested beef for the first time when offered it by the wife of the Indian officer, and several females have taken to eating it (and even venison) at the Indian Post pleading that their secret be kept from their husbands. And one Tapirapé male, the father of an infant, argued while eating venison that the taboo was not a logical one. Food taboos are still kept but

5: Krause--338 E-5 (1908) 1911 SP9 Caraja
Tapirape SP22

303
415
531
171

1. Comb.



2. Whole-gourd vessel.

3 4

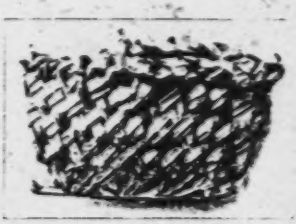
Half-gourd vessels.

285
482

6

5. Back-basket.

7



8

6-8. Rectangular transport bags.

9. Elastic transport bag.

/409 cont./

482 The back baskets are similar in construction to those of the
185 Karajá, but considerably smaller. One back-basket is plaited
[191] out of two palm fronds, like those of the Karajá; /410/ the ribs form the two longitudinal poles, the interwoven inner part of the fronds the bottom, the outer part the open-work edge. Their dimensions are 87 centimeters in length, 26 centimeters in width, 14 centimeters in height. Carrying bands are absent. The other back basket (Pl. 69, Ill. 5), by contrast, is made of only one frond in that the rib is broken twice and in this way forms the two longitudinal poles and the bottom cross-pole. To strengthen the longitudinal poles, two separate poles are tied on. The bottom plaiting and the lateral rods are /Ills. 269 and 270 appear here/ made considerably more neatly than in the previous one. It is only 68 centimeters long, 25 centimeters wide, and 15 centimeters high.

The bags are all made out of one palm frond in such a way that the rib forms the lower cross-edge, above which the bag, plaited out of pinnae, is built up (Pl. 69, Ills. 6-8). It is rectangular in shape throughout and is made with a simple one-up-one-down plaiting. Where carrying bands are present, they are fastened to the long side or the transverse side. /411/ Only one bag (Pl. 69, Ill. 9) is different in shape; its upper edge is drawn together tightly, so that only a small round opening remains, below which the bag bulges out in all directions. The measurements of the bag are: 10-16 centimeters high, 15-37 centimeters long.

301 Concerning other finds, there are still to be mentioned: a
411 tassel of red cotton yarn that corresponds exactly to a cut-off, youth's neck-tassel from the Karajá. And then two arrows. One of these (Ill. 270a) has a flat wooden point 43 centimeters long with barbs cut out on two sides and double-edged sharpness. The taquara shaft is 110 centimeters long and bears in back the two-part feathering, the twist of which makes a quarter turn and which is fastened only at the upper and lower end by winding. The upper winding consists of black cotton; into it little red feathers are tied toward the inside. The space between the feathers is

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

592 from many villages in the one village, many combinations of relatives now form residential groups.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

291 Both sexes are nude. Men tie the prepuce over the glans penis with a palm fiber. Both men and women pull out pubic, axillary, and all facial
302 hair. Even eyebrows are considered ugly. Men wear cotton string ligatures around their legs, just below the knee. Men, and sometimes women,
301 wear large cotton wrist bands crocheted directly on to their arms. Young boys and girls sometimes wear similar ornaments on their ankles; these ornaments are painted with a thick coat of red urucú dye and have round cuffs, often 2 to 3 inches (5 to 7.5 cm.) wide. Necklaces of beads given by Neo-Brazilians are highly valued and used almost to excess. Men
[302] paint their feet and the calves of their legs red with urucú; both men and women trace a multitude of patterns on their body with black genipa dye.

304 Men have their lower lip pierced and wear a small wooden lip plug. Two years or so after women have begun sexual life, patterns in the form of a three-quarter moon are made on their faces by scarification with a paca
[386] (*Cuniculus paca*) tooth knife. Charcoal and plant juices are rubbed into the wounds to leave dark blue designs.

TRANSPORTATION

[501] The *Tapirapé* do not have canoes. All cargoes are carried by the men
482 in a carrying knapsack made from buriti-palm fibers strapped to their backs.

MANUFACTURES

286 **Weaving.**—Hammocks are made by women from native cotton spun on
462 wooden spindles. The technique used is the simple twine weaving used by the *Tupinamba* and other *Tupí* groups.

323 **Ceramics.**—At present, the art of ceramics is declining. Pottery is
462 usually for cooking, and is made by women. Sometimes it bears incised
531 geometrical decorations.

531 **Gourds.**—Gourds are decorated with geometric incisions.

Basketry.—The most highly developed basketry techniques among the
285 *Tapirapé* are woven and twilled. Two types of baskets are flexible and nonflexible ones; both are of buriti fiber. They generally have a quadrangular base and a narrow, round top, and are used mostly to store manioc or maize flour. Flat, round baskets are used as cotton containers
[531] or flour sifters. They are usually ornamented with motifs originating in the weave itself; frequently the finished basket is smeared with black genipa and odd strands are scraped off, giving a negative decorative effect.

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940, 1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

away on the Araguaia River. Three Tapirapé youths had spent a few months at mission stations and thus spoke a rudimentary form of Portuguese, using a vocabulary limited to a few basic nouns and verbs. At first our main problem was communication, but these youths were able to help us. Aside from them, the only individuals we knew by name during the first two weeks were the "captains," the older men who were the heads of the six large haypile-like houses arranged in a circular village pattern. These, we later learned, were each occupied by a matrilocal extended family. But even the personal names—such as Oprunxui, Wantanamu, Kamanare, Mariaparwungo, Okané, and the like—were then hard to remember, let alone pronounce.

During the first weeks in the Village of Tapirs, I began to study intensively the Tapirapé language, a language belonging to the widespread Tupí-Guaraní stock. Until I could use this language at least passably, I was limited to observing and recording only those forms of Tapirapé culture that the eye could see. Even these usually needed explaining. I visited the extensive Tapirapé gardens in which manioc, beans, peanuts, cotton, and other native American crops were grown. I watched the women fabricate flour from both poisonous and "sweet" varieties of manioc, and make pots out of clay. I watched the men weave baskets out of palm fiber and manufacture their bows and arrows as they sat in hammocks in the large palm-thatched structure in the center of the village circle. This building was obviously the men's club, for no women ever entered. I rapidly became accustomed to nudity. The women wore nothing at all, and the men only a palm fiber band around the prepuce. But even nude women could be modestly seated, and the men were careful never to remove their palm band to expose the glans penis. Obvious also to the uninstructed eye was the fact that the Tapirapé expressed their personal vanity in the elaborate designs carefully painted on their bodies with *rucu* (red) and *genipa* (black). These and many other overt aspects of Tapirapé culture could be recorded in notes and photographs while I studied their language.

The Tapirapé, a friendly and humorous people, seemed rather pleased with the curious strangers in their midst. They found our antics amusing; the gales of laughter that accompanied the conversations that we could hear but not understand seemed evoked by tales of our strange behavior. (It is so easy to presume that oneself is

13: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940,1953) 1964
SP22 Tapirape SP22

Champukwi of the Village of the Tapir.

Champukwi sketched for me the stories of Petura, the Tapirapé ancestral hero who stole fire from the King Vulture, daylight from the night owl, *genipa* (used for dye) from the monkeys, and other items for the Tapirapé. However, he persuaded Maeumi, an elder famous for his knowledge of mythology, to relate the details although he himself helped considerably to clarify for me the meaning of native phrases and to make the stories told by Maeumi more fully understandable. Champukwi also forewarned me of events that I might want to witness, events that without his warning I might have missed. Such were the wrestling matches which took place upon the return of a hunting party between those men who went on the hunt and those who remained at home. He told me of a particularly handsome basket a man had made, which I might want to add to my collection for the Brazilian National Museum. He came to tell me that a young woman in a neighboring house was in labor, thus enabling me to get a photograph of the newborn infant being washed in the stream, and he urged the men to celebrate for my benefit a ceremony which might easily have been omitted. Champukwi was no longer merely an informant. He became a participant in ethnographic research although, of course, he never thought of it in these terms. He seemed somehow to understand the anthropologist's task in studying his culture, and in the process he gained considerable objectivity about his own way of life.

Yet it must be said that Champukwi did not seem to discredit the norms, institutions, and beliefs of his own people. Although he saw Valentim and me walk safely down the path through the forest late at night, he steadfastly refused to do the same; for the path was a favorite haunt of the lonely ghosts of deceased Tapirapé who might harm the living. He reasoned that the *tori* were probably immune to this danger. When he was ill, he took the pills we urged upon him but he also called in the shaman. His curiosity about airplanes, automobiles, and "gigantic canoes" (passenger boats) which he saw pictured in the magazines we had brought with us, was great; but he boasted that the Tapirapé could walk farther and faster than any *tori* or even the Caraja (who are a canoe people). In fact, his interest in, and enthusiasm for, certain Tapirapé activities seemed to be heightened by our presence. Almost all Tapirapé ceremonials involve choral singing and Champukwi was a singing leader of one of the sections of the men's societies. He was always pleased when